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ABSTRACT

A study examined the vocational counseling needs of youths in full-time employment and homeless youths in the United Kingdom. Available research regarding homeless young people and young people employed full time was reviewed to identify the following: their social and educational characteristics, their main transitions into/out of full-time employment and homelessness, their goals and values, their available vocational counseling opportunities, and perceived their vocational counseling needs and use of available vocational counseling services. It was concluded that both homeless youths and youths in full-time employment need effective and widely available vocational guidance/counseling that is characterized as follows: is flexible enough to cater to the diversity within both target populations; takes account of the processes by which young people make decisions and the informal influences on young people's decision making; plays a preventive role by providing early interventions for typical life and career problems; and is aware of racial and other forms of discrimination. Vocational guidance needs specific to homeless youths and youths employed full time were identified along with directions for future research into vocational guidance/counseling needs. (Contains 70 references.) (MN)

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Determining the need for vocational counselling among different target groups of young people under 28 years of age in the European Community

Young people in full-time employment and homeless young people in the United Kingdom

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Determining the need for vocational counselling among different target groups of young people under 28 years of age in the European Community

Young people in full-time employment and homeless young people in the United Kingdom

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Preface by CEDEFOP

In developing the careers of young people and integrating them into working life, career guidance is becoming increasingly important. Persistent, structurally-caused unemployment, higher qualification requirements, complex training paths with eased transition between initial and continuing training, the increasing deregulation of the labour market and the emergence of new values and life styles among young people present career guidance services, as the instrument for regulating supply and demand on training, education and labour markets, with fundamental and complex tasks. At the same time, European integration poses new challenges to the career guidance services in the Member States. The PETRA 3 programme has taken an initial step in this direction through setting up European-oriented national resource centres, through organizing transitional continuing training courses for occupational guidance counsellors and publishing the "European Manual for Occupational Guidance Counsellors".

The comparative studies[1] carried out by CEDEFOP and Task Force: Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth to support and monitor work in this field have increased transparency in national occupational guidance systems and qualification structures.

The activities and research work carried out aimed primarily to make proposals or provide support for improving occupational guidance activities, to focus such work in a European context on the basis of existing national structures. Counselling requirements were deduced from existing or forecasted demand (enquiries at guidance services) or from general data derived from labour market and occupational research.

To date the needs of various target groups of young people based on their economic and social and cultural situation, their values, their career plans, their conception of the efficiency of occupational guidance offers etc. have not been taken into account.

This issue was examined in the project "Determination of (occupational) guidance needs for various groups of young people under 28 years of age in the European Union", carried out between March 1993 and May 1994, the results of which are now available (12 national reports, in the original language and English, partly in French, the synthesis report in English, French, German, Italian and Spanish).

A total of 21 target groups were examined; nine of the reports examined two of the groups and three reports examined one target group. Particular attention was devoted to young people at a particular disadvantage who had no or inadequate access to occupational guidance services. The target groups selected are listed in the appendices of the 12 national reports and the synthesis report as the aims and findings of the project - as stressed in the synthesis report - can only be viewed in the context of the interrelationships between the various elements. The national reports have been published in separate editions as certain readers are interested

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[1] Occupational profiles and training in occupational guidance counselling, CEDEFOP, 1992, 12 national studies and synthesis report.
Educational and vocational guidance services for youth and young adults in the EC, European Commission, 1993, 12 national reports and synthesis report. As a supplement:
EUROCOUNSEL, Counselling and long-term unemployment, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, Dublin, 1992-1993, 6 national studies and synthesis report.

in specific target groups whose problems in finding training and work have supra-national features which are characteristic of other target groups which we selected.

This project was commissioned by Task Force: Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth as part of the PETRA 3 programme aiming to produce indicators for differentiated and demand-oriented occupational guidance practices and to create more offensive planning strategies to reach as far as possible those target groups which were excluded from guidance counselling for the reasons contained in the reports. New proposals are being formulated at present to prepare the gradual transition to the "LEONARDO DA VINCI Programme".

Enrique Retuerto de la Torre
Deputy Director

Gesa Chomé
Project Coordinator

This report was commissioned by the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (Cedefop). The Centre for Educational Sociology also acknowledges the support of the UK Economic and Social Research Council. Chapter IV draws substantially on the project on *Young People in and out of the Housing Market*, funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and conducted by the Centre for Educational Sociology in conjunction with the Scottish Council for the Single Homeless.

I INTRODUCTION

Aims of study

This study aims to identify the vocational guidance needs of

- young people in full-time employment, and
- young homeless people.

It aims to relate these needs to the social, educational and economic characteristics and contexts of young people and to the current provision and use of vocational guidance. It draws upon available statistics and research for the UK, in order to contribute to an EC-wide study led by Cedefop.

Issues and Problems

We focus on these two target groups, because we perceive that both have particular vocational guidance needs, but both may frequently miss out on the guidance that is currently provided. In addition the two target groups provide an analytical contrast, between a group that is clearly "excluded" (young homeless) and a group which appears, at least to those outside it, to represent "inclusion" (young employees).

Identifying the target groups

The target groups cannot be assumed to be either stable or homogeneous, however, and it is important to recognise this. Full-time employment and homelessness are not fixed personal traits; they are states in and out of which young people may move. There is further substantial movement within each target group, among the range of different circumstances and conditions which comprise each state. These movements - which are the source or occasion of many guidance needs - must be seen in the context of the life-course and of other transitions and movements in young people's lives. Transitions in education, in the labour market, in family and personal relationships and in housing and households are interrelated. In this study we attempt to place guidance needs in this broader, more holistic, perspective.

Young people in each target group have diverse personal characteristics and backgrounds as well as diverse circumstances. This heterogeneity may be most obvious in respect of young employees, who comprise a majority of the age group, but it is also important with respect to homeless young people. It is another recurring theme of this report.

Identifying guidance needs

It has not been easy to identify the guidance needs of these two target groups on the basis of existing research and other evidence. The same factors which may have led them to miss out on guidance opportunities have also, it would seem, led them to be neglected in the research. For example there have been numerous, and valuable, studies of young people on training schemes, and of the unemployed, but very few have focused on young people in "ordinary" employment. Few studies of employees have paid special attention to the situation of young people, and even fewer have specifically addressed their guidance needs. There have been several valuable studies of homeless young people, on which we draw, although once again

guidance has not been a central focus of the research. The problem is not a lack of research, but rather that most of the research is only marginally relevant to the target group and research problem in question. In consequence, our approach in this report is largely indirect. We hope to provide a description of the target groups, their contexts and characteristics, and their existing use of guidance, sufficient to support a better understanding of their guidance needs.

Guidance needs - as opposed to demands - cannot, in any case, be directly observed and measured. First, the assessment of need involves value-judgements about the legitimacy of different personal goals and of different interest groups. Though we assume in this report that young people should be the main beneficiaries of guidance, and thus focus on them, we cannot ignore the (possibly conflicting) interests of employers, parents and the wider community. Second, individual needs cannot be equated with demands. The quality and quantity of the demand for guidance is strongly shaped by the supply; thus, if we used demand as an index of need, we would end up describing (and endorsing) current provision. Guidance is inherently an educational process. The four aspects of guidance that are frequently mentioned - decision-making, occupational awareness, transition skills and self-awareness - all involve the acquisition of knowledge or the development of skills. Guidance should promote learning. In the process of learning, the perceived needs of the clients of guidance should develop and change, although, when the learning has been successful - when young people have the knowledge and competence to take vocational decisions - they may fail to recognise this as an example of their guidance needs having been met.

Guidance as problem-solving?

There is another fallacy that must also be avoided. This is to assume that all "problems" - personal distress, ill-being, unsatisfied aspirations - can be solved by effective vocational guidance. There are two aspects of this. First, although vocational guidance must take account of the broader circumstances, needs and aspirations of young people - and the need for a "holistic" perspective is a recurring theme of this report - it is unreasonable to expect professionals trained in the vocational guidance of young people to as effective in supporting young people in all aspects of their lives. Second, even within the vocational sphere guidance may have a limited ability to deal with young people's problems to the extent that is assumes that young people are in control of their own vocational futures. Since the end of the 1960s there has been a debate about the dominant "developmental" approach to vocational guidance in the UK, and in particular about its apparent assumption that all young people have a substantial measure of control over their own futures. Sociological critics have emphasised, on the one hand, the extent to which young people's "choices" are socially determined, and on the other hand the extent to which opportunity structures rather than choices determine their labour-market entry. The issue of "control" is another theme of this report.

Our approach

In each of the two main chapters of this report we take one of our target groups and address the following questions:

- by which processes or transitions do young people enter the target group?
- what are the social and educational characteristics of young people currently in the target group?

- what range of locations or situations do current members of the target group occupy?
- what are the main transitions of young people within the target group, and how might they leave it?
- what are the goals and values of members of the target group, and how do they pursue them?
- what guidance needs do members of the target group themselves perceive?
- what guidance provision is available to the target group?
- what use is made of this provision, by whom, and how helpful is this judged to be?

In addressing these questions, we shall pay attention to:

- the life-course perspective on young people's vocational and other transitions;
- the relationship between vocational transitions and other transitions in youth (a holistic approach);
- the heterogeneity of the target group, including differences with respect to gender, social class and ethnicity;
- the variable extent to which young people exercise control over their vocational - and other - futures.

II CONTEXT

This chapter identifies aspects of the UK context which are relevant to the guidance needs of young people in general, including the target groups. Our starting point is provided by the four cross-cutting themes identified in chapter I: the life-course perspective, the holistic approach, the heterogeneity of young people, and the extent of their control. some sociologists have used the concept of "trajectory" to link these themes. By studying young people according to their different trajectories, or paths of transition, we can identify processes without losing sight of differences. The approach has been taken by, among others, the researchers associated with the 16-19 Initiative, the largest recent programme of research into transitions in youth in the UK, supported by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).[1] The research team identified five "trajectories" through education and the labour market followed by young people between the age of 16 and 19. Young people on different trajectories tended to have different backgrounds and aspirations; the trajectories thus provided a framework within which to study youth transitions and the process of identity formation (Banks *et al.* 1992).

The concept of trajectory is at best *post hoc* and descriptive; in using it we should be careful not to exaggerate the degree of determinism in young people's early lives, and in practice the movements and pathways of young people are more complex and varied than the notion of trajectory suggests (Furlong and Raffe 1989). The 16-19 Initiative team worked with several different classifications of "trajectories" (eg Banks *et al.* 1992, pp.35-36, and Bynner and Roberts 1991, p.xvi); this warns us not to reify any particular classification. Nevertheless the trajectories they identified provide a starting point for the analysis of youth transitions, and we use them for this purpose in this chapter. Below we describe the trajectories as first defined by the 16-19 Initiative researchers. We also consider the ways in which current trends may be affecting both the shape of these trajectories and the numbers and types of young people on each.

The "*academic education*" trajectory is defined as covering full-time academic courses of at least two years (principally A levels; the definition is rather less appropriate in Scotland). This leads through higher education for a majority of young people, although a significant proportion enters the labour market at 18. This trajectory is currently expanding rapidly, although the young people concerned continue to be disproportionately well-qualified and from middle class backgrounds.

The "*vocational education*" trajectory, which covers those entering mainly vocational full-time courses at 16, is also expanding and is currently being reconstructed with the development of "general" National Vocational Qualifications (gNVQs; general Scottish Vocational Qualifications or gSVQs in Scotland). These provide vocational courses, with a strong "general" educational component, in broad occupational areas. The progression routes through and beyond gNVQs/gSVQs are still uncertain. (It is not yet clear, for example: whether the majority of presentations will be at level 3 - equivalent to A level - or lower levels; whether they will be used mainly as a route to higher education, to the labour market, and/or to "occupational" National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs); whether they will be recognised by higher education and/or employers.) This points to evident guidance needs, both for future

[1] A full list of abbreviations is provided in the Appendix.

and current gNVQ students, and also for those who may have "lost their way" as a result of the current uncertainties concerning pathways into the labour market. Females and young people from ethnic minorities are currently over-represented on this trajectory.

The "*school to job*" trajectory - from school to "ordinary" employment at 16 - was the majority experience in the 1970s but is now much less common. A majority of young people on this route receive no further training, with many jobs offering training incorporated within the next ("*YTS to job*") trajectory. This covers young people who enter the labour market through those Youth Training (YT) schemes which provide a relatively secure route to permanent employment. However the boundary between these two trajectories is still fluid; a growing proportion of YT participants have employee status; conversely, a growing proportion of employer-sponsored training is not provided through YT. Both trajectories over-represent white males from (skilled) working class backgrounds.

The last trajectory ("*YTS/unemployed*") covers young people who leave school at 16 and fail to obtain secure employment, usually spending some time on YT schemes but not progressing directly to a permanent job. They tend to have few qualifications and young people from disadvantaged family backgrounds are over-represented on this trajectory.

In the course of their research, the 16-19 Initiative collected data on two representative samples of young people in four British towns. The samples were aged 15-16 and 17-18 respectively when first contacted in 1987, and their distribution across the original trajectories was as follows (Banks *et al.* 1992, p.38):

	Age of sample	
Trajectory	**Older**	**Younger**
	%	%
Academic education	19	25
Vocational education	20	22
School to job	15	13
YTS to job	12	11
YTS/unemployed	34	29

It can be seen from the table that people in the younger group were more likely to be identified as on education-linked trajectories while in the older group were more likely to be on job-training-unemployment ones. We can begin to see trends over time. Of the five trajectories, all but the first lead most young people into the labour market before the age of 20 (subject to the uncertainties about the second trajectory mentioned above). However the transition from school to work has become prolonged, partly because of qualitative change within the trajectories, but mainly because of the shift in the proportions in different trajectories (especially, away from the shorter school-to-job trajectory). Nevertheless economic activity rates have remained higher among young people in Britain than in most other European Community (EC) countries. In 1989 59% of 14-19s in the UK were active in the labour market (m:52%; f:50%) compared with 29% in the EC as a whole. Among 20-24 year olds the equivalent figures were 84% (92%; 76%) compared with 69% (Eurostat 1991). Only in Denmark were activity rates higher. These figures include part-time employees, most of whom were either students or women with children. The absence of

compulsory military or community service also distinguishes the UK from most other EC member states.

More recent Labour Force Survey (LFS) figures, for winter 1992/3, show UK activity rates of 55% for 16-17 year olds, 70% for 18-19 year olds and 79% for 20-24 year olds. They also show ILO/OECD unemployment rates of 18%, 20% and 17% respectively, well above adult rates. The unemployment rate of 18% among 16-17 year olds is despite the fact that most of these young people are not eligible to register as unemployed or, in the majority of cases, to receive Income Support. In principle they are all "guaranteed" places on YT so do not need benefits, although in recent years some young people have remained unemployed for a significant period before finding a suitable YT place, and the guarantee has not always been fulfilled (Maclagan 1992).

Around 25-30% of each age group enters YT. (The England and Wales Youth Cohort Study estimates that 22% had experience of YT in spring 1991; a few would have joined later, after one year of post-compulsory education.) Surveys of YT leavers indicate that half have left early and only three in ten obtain qualifications; one half enter employment and a quarter become unemployed (*Labour Market Quarterly Report*, August 1983, p.9).

The extension of full-time education and training, and the reduction of opportunities for school leavers to enter employment, noted above, affects other aspects of young people's lives. They remain economically dependent for longer on their parents, for example, and because their opportunities for economic independence have become more limited, they have greater difficulties when it comes to leaving home and setting up homes, and families, of their own. The result of these and other changes is that the whole period of transition from dependent child to full adult citizenship has also become more extended, less clearly ordered, and more complex (Jones and Wallace 1992). It becomes essential to take a holistic approach to young people, since understanding their transitions into employment, for example, increasing requires understanding their domestic circumstances. We can no longer separate work and home.

So, as transitions to adulthood in the UK have become more prolonged, they have also become more complex. This complexity makes the guidance function more critical and is the product of

- the range of opportunities and pathways through the system;
- the heterogeneity of many of the options - with, for example, a wide range of types and quality of provision within YT; this reduces the transparency of the system;
- the different possible sequences in which decisions might be made: for example, gNVQs presuppose that vocational education is chosen first, followed by job choice later; the pattern associated with other trajectories assumes that jobs are chosen first, and vocational education and training (if any) come later;
- the increasing flexibility of formal training opportunities (eg through modularisation, credit transfer systems);
- the extension of market principles to education and training, including the introduction of youth (training) credits which are supposed to "empower" young people and give them "ownership" of their training.

Constants

Despite the changes described above, several features of the transition process, and in particular of the orientations of young people themselves, have remained relatively constant.

The employment ethic

The employment ethic has been largely unaffected by the rise in youth unemployment and the other changes of the last two decades. An "ordinary" job is still perceived as a major component of adult status. Unemployment has barely dented young people's commitment to employment; at most it has led them to modify the way they look for jobs (Banks and Ullah 1987). Anti-job cultures have been fragile and transitory in nature (Wallace 1986).

Expectations of early independence

Despite the prolongation of the transition process, and the consequent delay in achieving the financial basis for independence, the expectations of a substantial proportion of young people continue to be based on the norm of a transition to independence at, or soon after, the age of 16. There is thus a tension between young people's expectations and the opportunity structures (eg education, labour and housing markets) which limit their scope to fulfil them. These tensions are critical for understanding many of the guidance problems discussed in later chapters.

Instrumentalism

The predominantly instrumental attitude of many young people to schemes such as YT and the other opportunities that confront them is well documented (eg Brown 1987, Raffe and Smith 1987). At least on aggregate, young people's levels and patterns of participation in education and training have responded "realistically" to the various incentives and disincentives associated with the different options. Young people require information about these options, and need helping in understanding their growing complexity; but guidance policies or practices based on an implicit view of young people as "cultural dupes" should be viewed sceptically.

Decision-making processes

The instrumentalism of young people's choices does not mean that the process of choosing follows a procedurally rational model of decision-making. A recent study of Training Credits suggested that young people were "pragmatically rational" in the way they made choices, but they did not follow the model of "technical rationality" that the Training Credits, and supporting guidance provision, presupposed (Hodkinson *et al.* 1992). For example, young people's decision-making did not follow the sequence of

- identifying strengths, weaknesses and interests;
- clarifying aims and intentions,
- identifying training needs to achieve the aims, and drawing up a plan to achieve them

which the "technically rational" model assumed.

Influence of family

The importance of the family, and especially parents, as sources of advice and support for young people's decision-making is well documented (eg Howieson and Semple 1993). However the quality of this support, and the accuracy and completeness of the information which parents are able to supply, vary widely. Some parents, including the unemployed, or those whose children migrate to look for work, may find it particularly difficult to provide effective guidance.

Tradition of socialisation on the job

Traditionally young workers in the UK have entered the labour market at an early age; their socialisation, their acquisition of an occupational identity and even, in some respects, their "choice" of an occupation have taken place on the job. This contrasts with countries where these processes take place either in full-time vocational education or in apprenticeships where the status of apprentice is clearly distinguished from that of worker. While the development of new vocational courses and the growth of schemes such as YT have changed this basic orientation, it is questionable how far these initiatives have taken on and supplied the various "socialisation" functions. It may still be the case that young people in the UK enter work with less preparation, in this less formal sense, than in many other countries.

Inequalities

Despite the growing complexity of the transition process, and the development of more flexible pathways, inequalities associated with class, gender, ethnicity and other dimensions of advantage and disadvantage have been remarkably persistent (Jones and Wallace 1992; Raffe *et al.* 1993).

III YOUNG PEOPLE IN FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT

In this chapter we examine the first of our target groups, young people in full-time employment. We focus on "ordinary" employment, that is, excluding apprenticeships and training and work experience schemes.

By which processes or transitions do young people enter full-time employment?

The five "trajectories" identified by the 16-19 Initiative team summarise possible routes into full-time employment. However the actual routes followed by young people are more diverse and complicated. Gray and Sime (1990) identified 16 different routes to full-time employment at 18/19 years, based on all the possible permutations of previous experience of post-compulsory full-time education, YTS, unemployment and "something else"; at least some members of the England and Wales Youth Cohort Study (YCS) aged 18/19 in 1987 had "travelled" to full-time employment by each route. Of the sample members in full-time employment:

- only 16% had entered employment "directly" from compulsory school;
- nearly half (43%) had been on YTS;
- 37% had obtained some post-compulsory full-time education;
- 39% had experience of unemployment; and
- 22% had ticked "something else" or "don't know" for at least one month since leaving school.

Many young people had done more than one of these things, reflecting the complexity of actual transitions. Similarly, among full-time employees covered by the Scottish Young People's Survey (SYPS) of 19 year olds in autumn 1987:

- 36% had stayed on beyond 16 at school;
- 20% had attended full-time further education;
- 48% had been on YTS; and
- 27% had been apprentices (Furlong and Raffe 1989).

Females were more likely to have stayed on at school or FE, boys to have been on YTS or (especially) apprenticeships. These two surveys cover young people to 19 years, before many young people on the "academic education" trajectory, as well as some on the "vocational education" and "YTS/unemployed" trajectories, had entered full-time employment.

Among the SYPS sample of 19-year-old Scots in 1989, the main sources of information about the current job had been job centre or careers office (24%), family (20%), friends (19%), direct contact with an employer (16%), an advertisement (14%) and YTS (10%) (SYPS unpublished). The role of informal channels is therefore substantial, although the Young Europeans 1987 survey suggested that young people in the United Kingdom made less use of informal channels, and more use of official channels, for obtaining employment than young people in most other member states (CEC 1989). Earlier Scottish evidence suggested that the use of different sources did not vary strongly either by gender or by qualification level, but was associated with type of occupation (Raffe 1985). The use of informal recruitment channels has been particularly prominent in rural areas (Turbin and Stern 1987, Wallace *et al.* 1993). The substantial role of informal channels means that the most disadvantaged young people include those whose parents, relatives and friends are unemployed, absent or for other reasons unable to help them (as the next chapter will also indicate). These people may be particularly dependent on official guidance and placement agencies; in the 1989 Scottish sample (above), the proportion who had found out about their job through job centre or

careers service rose to 46% in the most disadvantaged areas of Glasgow. Young people whose parents are unemployed are at considerably higher risk of unemployment themselves (Payne 1987, Raffe 1988) and this at least partly reflects their reduced access to informal information networks.

The vast majority of young people seek a job on leaving full-time education. This reflects the continuing strong employment ethic discussed above, and the expectation among many of an early transition to independence and a wage. It also reflects the paucity of opportunities, for most young people, in household or "grey" economies. Some school leavers enter YT in preference to an "ordinary" job, although when this happens it is usually the higher-status, employer-led YT schemes that they prefer (Lee *et al.* 1990). Many of these higher-status schemes now offer regular employment contracts to their trainees, partly in order to recruit young entrants of sufficient "calibre". Among young job-seekers, factors associated with success in finding jobs include academic qualifications, the employment level in the local labour market, parental employment, social class, ethnicity and (dis)ability. Male and female employment rates are similar on average but the gap between them varies locally. Most young people without work are "involuntarily" unemployed; that is, they would prefer to have a job even if they may vary in respect of the kind of job they would be prepared to accept.

Entry to the full-time labour market is a critical transition for young people. The importance of the first job, and its significance for subsequent life chances, are recurring themes of research in the area (eg Ashton *et al.* 1990). Yet most young people in the UK (still) make this transition at a relatively early age; many do so after little or no vocational education or other opportunities to become socialised into the occupation concerned; and many appear to have little, or inadequate, formal vocational guidance. This is despite a decade or more of policy attention and initiatives to improve the vocational guidance of school leavers. The 16-19 Initiative researchers comment:

> There is compelling evidence from our research that many young people and their parents are at sea with respect to what needs to be done to ensure their futures. The orientations of schools, colleges and employers are still fundamentally selective rather than facilitative, and career education is too frequently marginalised. Many young people are allowed, if not actively encouraged, to set themselves adrift in the labour market without adequate preparation. (Banks *et al.* 1992, p.188)

In the next section we examine the extent to which this deficiency is reflected in - or compensated by - young people's behaviour and experience after entering full-time employment?

What are the social and educational characteristics of young people in full-time employment?

The social and educational characteristics of young people are strongly associated with their "trajectory" and, related to this, with the age at which they enter and/or leave employment. Consequently the social and educational characteristics of young full-time employees vary with age. Only 18% of 16/17 year olds in England and Wales were in full-time employment in spring 1991; they were disproportionately male, white, from state schools and in the middle and lower bands of educational attainment (Courtenay and McAleese 1993). This generally mirrored patterns of participation in full-time education, YT and unemployment. Among 18/19 year olds the proportion in full-time jobs was much higher - at 54% - but the skew in relation to social and educational characteristics was similar (Park 1993). The 18/19-year-old

figures show some regional variation in the proportion in full-time employment (ranging from 49% in North West England to 65% in East Anglia); they also show a lower proportion among those with self-reported disability than among those without (36% compared with 55%). Data for older age groups are less adequate; the characteristics of the full-time employed will be affect by the entry of higher education graduates, typically at around 21-22 years, but also by the withdrawal of some women from the full-time labour market at around the time of childbirth.

Most young people have entered full-time employment by their early 20s. Young workers are therefore a heterogeneous group, and this heterogeneity is related to the different forms and types of employment. These differences are discussed below.

What range of locations or situations do young people in full-time employment occupy?

To understand the full-time youth labour market one must recognise its diversity.

Young workers are spread across the different industrial sectors to a greater extent in the UK than in many other European countries; this relative degree of "inclusion" is associated with relatively low youth pay levels (Marsden and Ryan 1991). The employment status of young people is also closer to that of adults; fewer young workers in Britain occupy "precarious" jobs of the kind common in some other EC countries. Among 16-19 year olds casual or temporary employment is concentrated in part-time jobs, which are mainly held by students (Bosworth 1991).

Occupational data from the 1991 Population Census, which would allow us to compare youth and adult occupational distributions, have not yet been published. The YCS provides data for young people alone. Among 18-19 year olds in England and Wales in 1991 three occupational categories accounted for nearly all the women's jobs: clerical and related (50%), personal service work (19%) and professional/managerial (12%). The same three categories accounted for 16%, 5% and 11% of men, with 24% in manufacture/repair (metal and electrical) and 14% in manufacture/repair (other). Young people tend to be excluded from a range of jobs either because these recruit graduates or through the operation of legal and conventional minimum age requirements. Nevertheless the converse does not apply; except for apprenticeships, relatively few jobs are exclusively the preserve of young people. For example, among 19-year-old Scots in 1987 only 10% (of both genders) saw their work as "mainly younger people's work"; 91% of males and 86% of females reported that where they worked there were people several years older doing the same sort of work (Furlong 1990). The occupational "level" of young people increases with age, reflecting the influx of more highly-qualified older entrants to the labour force, as well as a process of upgrading among those already there. Educational attainment and qualifications tend to be the factors most strongly associated with occupational level, although ethnicity, gender, and family background are all important, as are characteristics of the industry and firm in which the young person is employed, and details of his or her previous employment experience (Elias and Blanchflower 1989, Furlong 1992, Kerckhoff 1993).

The diversity of youth employment in the UK can also be seen in more analytical terms. The UK defies easy classification in terms of such distinctions as that between occupational and internal labour markets (Marsden 1986, Maurice *et al.* 1986). This is primarily because of the large differences between sectors. Garonna and Ryan (1991) note that "Britain shows an

unusually varied combination" of methods and outcomes of regulation of youth labour markets. Many sociologists and economists studying the youth labour market in Britain have used the concept of labour market segmentation to analyse this diversity. The concept is applied in different ways; for example, different authors use it respectively to analyse contrasts between occupations, between industries or between types of firms. Nevertheless the different approaches all share the same general theme, that the segment in which a young person is employed may influence his or her experiences, behaviours and prospects in employment, and that movement between segments is restricted.

Training linked to a specific occupation or firm is a major reason why young people may be "locked in" to a particular segment. However training may also be a means to mobility or career development. The British system of part-time and work-based training means that many young people continue to gain qualifications after leaving full-time education (Kerckhoff 1993). The UK would appear to offer wider opportunities than elsewhere; in the 1987 Young Europeans Survey 65% of young British workers reported that further training was available in their present job, a higher proportion than in any other member state. A comparison with American youth suggests that not only have levels of training at work been higher in the UK, but that the returns to training have been higher (Blanchflower and Lynch 1992). However four reservations should be expressed about this relatively optimistic picture. First, participation in training is very strongly associated with the type and level of occupation. Second, the quality of training is variable, and it tends to be job-specific; even if it helps young people to advance in their current jobs it does not so easily help them to change jobs or occupations. Third and relatedly, much youth training does not lead to recognised qualifications, but training which does not lead to qualifications is of much less value to an individual's career development (White and McRae 1989, Blanchflower and Lynch 1992). Fourth, training in Britain is "front-end loaded" in age terms; young people are much more likely to receive training in their first jobs than in their second or subsequent jobs (Ashton *et al.* 1990).

Both the quantity and the quality of self-employment are relatively low among young people. Only 4% of economically active 16-24 year olds in 1992 were self-employed, compared with an all-age average of 11% (*Labour Market Quarterly Report*, May 1993, p.17). Many young people who enter self-employment do so as an alternative to unemployment, often with the help of state subsidies; the working conditions and rewards to many young self-employed people are poor (MacDonald and Coffield 1991).

The differentiation and diversity of youth employment may be increasing. A recent study of the youth employment policies of 12 large companies suggested that the overall demand for youth labour was falling, but that better-qualified school leavers remained sought-after. There appeared to be a greater segmentation within internal labour markets and a polarisation of employment opportunities (Thompson *et al.* 1993, p.15).

To what extent are young people "in control" of the process by which they enter employment? Ashton *et al.* (1990) report that more than half of the young workers they studied had accepted their job because it was the "only one available". Roberts *et al.* (1987) report of their sample of young people that only a third of those with definite occupational ambitions were in jobs consistent with their ambitions. Both studies were conducted at a time of high unemployment, when young people's choices were likely to have been particularly restricted; and both excluded more advantaged young people such as graduates. Indeed, both

commented that the segment or occupational level of the job was strongly associated with the probability that it matched a young person's occupational ambitions. Hardly any of Roberts' sample members in sales or unskilled work had "chosen" their occupations, although some of these may have been in "fill-in" jobs, especially in sales, while waiting for other jobs to become available or to satisfy minimum age requirements. Especially for less qualified and less advantaged young people, therefore, the evidence suggests that the process of occupational entry was at best a haphazard one and at worst a matter of adapting to the limited opportunities provided by the labour market. Given also the limited vocational preparation that many young people have received, this suggests that transitions after entering employment are of particular importance.

What are the main transitions of young people within, and out of, full-time employment?

Job-changing

Young workers in the UK appear to change jobs more frequently than in many other EC countries. CEC figures show that 43% of active 15-24 year olds in the UK had had at least three jobs lasting one month or more, and 47% had held at least two jobs lasting six months or more. However such figures may be affected by temporary work and training schemes; the extent of job-changing among young people in "regular" full-time jobs - that is, not in schemes, should not be exaggerated. The picture of "chronic job-changing" only ever described a minority of young workers, and declined sharply as unemployment rose. One third of the National Child Development Study (NCDS) sample had had only one job by age 23 (in 1981), and more than a half had had fewer than three (Kerckhoff 1993). More recently, most of Ashton *et al.*'s sample of 18-24 year olds in the labour market in the 1980s had had three or fewer jobs, and two-thirds of 19-year-old Scots in full-time jobs in autumn 1989 had had just one job. In 1991 the LFS found that 18% and 20% of male and female 16-29-year-olds respectively had changed employers in the previous year, compared with 11% and 12% among employees of all ages; these figures (which, interestingly, are 3-4% lower than in the previous year, probably reflecting the recession) include part-time employees, among whom turnover tends to be higher.

The LFS shows that young people are much more likely than older workers to change occupations, as well as employers, when they change jobs. The average "direction" of job changes is uncertain. Ashton *et al.* report a general tendency to remain within the same labour-market segment (although this is defined much more broadly than occupation) although there is net "upward" movement. Kerckhoff notes that job-changing had a negative effect, other things being equal, on occupational status at 23; although most other evidence suggests that job changes are more often "upwards", this suggests that job-changing is at best a response to an unsatisfactory initial occupation, and only a partial solution to the problem. The relative decline of occupational labour markets in many sectors in the UK may limit the value of job-changing to young people (Garonna and Ryan 1991). Job-changing, in other words, may be more often linked to secondary labour markets than to occupational markets in which young people may establish careers. This is suggested by the much greater prevalence of job-changing among young workers in the lower (secondary) occupational segments (Ashton *et al.* 1990).

Therefore, while some young people may use job-changing as a conscious strategy for escaping unattractive or uncongenial jobs (Roberts *et al.* 1987, Wallace 1986), this is most

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often true for young people who are prepared to remain in the secondary labour market (cf Jones 1986). For most young workers it is an unreliable strategy, if it can be termed a strategy at all. It depends on the state of the labour market; as noted above, job-changing has fallen sharply at times of high unemployment. Job changing tends to be "structurally" determined, in the sense that it varies more according to the nature of the job and the employer than the characteristics of the young worker (Ashton *et al.* 1990, Kerckhoff 1993). (However one individual characteristic that seems to be independently associated with job-changing is a record of truancy at school.) The direction and distance of movement tends to be constrained, and the pattern of job-changing is moreover age-structured, linked to maximum and minimum age restrictions on job entry, the consequent use of "fill-in" jobs, training, and progression in internal labour markets. Ashton *et al.* (1990, pp.160-161) summarise their evidence:

> the direction which many of the moves take is conditioned by negative features such as the lack of other opportunities, rather than by any desire on the part of the people concerned to maximise returns on investments they had made in previous training or more generally from their past work experience.

However there is a more positive side of the story. The relatively small scale of "precarious" employment in UK means that many fewer young people give the insecure or temporary nature of their current job as a reason for seeking another than in other countries such as Spain, France and Belgium (Eurostat 1991).

Job-changing is also affected by individuals' domestic circumstances. Wallace (1986) observed a process of "settling down" associated with the acquisition of family responsibilities among young men. Payne's (1989) analysis similarly showed a tendency for young married men to have a lower rate of unemployment than unmarried men of the same age, even allowing for other personal differences.

Career progression in current job

We have suggested that job-changing has not provided a reliable solution for young people who find themselves in the "wrong" job or occupation. To what extent might the problem be solved by career progression within the present job - that is with the same employer? There is little firm evidence on the extent of occupational upgrading; most research on internal labour markets is based on case studies and difficult to generalise. Over a quarter of 19-year-old Scots in employment in 1989 said they had been promoted while with their present employer, but this might refer to a range of possible moves (Howieson and Raffe 1990). The 1987 Young Europeans Survey found that young people in the UK expressed more confidence than in any other country about promotion prospects in their present job: 61% in the UK, compared with an EC average of 48% (CEC 1991, p.186). However, as the concept of internal labour market would lead us to expect, promotion prospects will be greatest for those already in the most advantaged positions (Bynner and Roberts 1991). If we are correct in identifying the internal labour market as the principal means of occupational advancement for many young Britons, those who do not have access to internal labour markets are in a particularly disadvantaged situation and represent a challenge for vocational guidance.

Geographical mobility

The 1987 LFS estimates that nearly 10% of 16-19 year olds in employment, 22% of 20-24 year olds and 17% of 25-34 year olds had changed address in the past year. (These

proportions declined sharply among older age groups.) About one in six of those who had changed address moved between regions (*Employment Gazette*, August 1991, p.449). In 1989, 15% of Scottish 19 year olds in full-time jobs had moved to another town or area to find work (Howieson and Raffe 1991). There are few reliable estimates of mobility within the EC, but the numbers of young people involved appear to be small.

The possibility of geographical mobility is closely linked with the process of leaving the parental home. Among the NCDS sample the median age of leaving the parental home was 21.9 years for men and 20 years for women (Jones 1987). For many young people the process of leaving home starts earlier. Over a third of a recent Scottish year group had left home by the age of 19; of these, 13% had left before age 17 and 25% had left at 17. About one in five left in order to start a job - the proportion being much higher among males who had left home at 16. Nearly one in ten left because there were no jobs locally (Jones 1993). Many young people who leave home subsequently return. While for most young people their weak position in the housing market constrains their prospects of geographical mobility in search of work, for some the parental home provides a possible - but by no means universal - safety net to which they can return. Expectations of mobility vary according to the level of job. Among members of the 16-19 sample those expecting to move to another area or country were overwhelmingly from the highest ("academic education") trajectory (Bynner and Roberts 1991).

Young people in rural areas are more likely to regard geographical mobility as inevitable, even if many would prefer to remain in their home areas (Wallace *et al.* 1993, Jones 1993). Their guidance needs arise away from the home area, with less likelihood of parental support. There is also a need for earlier counselling for these young people, whose information about opportunities in other areas may be limited or distorted.

Moves out of employment

Finally, we mention movements out of full-time employment. Young people in the lower segments of the labour market are not only more likely to move jobs, they are also more likely to become unemployed (Ashton *et al.* 1990; White and McRae 1989). As in the case of job-changing, the risk of unemployment is more strongly associated with characteristics of jobs than of individuals. This seems to be the case both for patterns of intermittent or "sub-employment" - recurrent spells of employment and unemployment - and for long-term unemployment. Many more women than men withdraw from the labour market, mainly for reasons associated with family formation. This apart, the characteristics of young people withdrawing from the labour market, especially among teenagers, resemble those of the unemployed (Furlong 1992).

What are the goals, values and aspirations of young people in full-time employment?

Ashton *et al.* (1990, p.161) note that most young people "have a clear set of values and priorities which they use to evaluate jobs"; these typically include "good pay, secure work, friendly workmates, a chance to make a career, interesting work and the chance to acquire a skill". However few had managed to choose a job on the basis of these criteria. Bynner and Roberts (1991, p.165) observe, of their Anglo-German study, that "apart from wanting a friendly atmosphere, most respondents saw their jobs mainly in terms of material benefits outside work. Evidence that the samples were seeking self-fulfilment at work is rather weak."

These findings confirm the general tendency, noted in chapter II, for young people to have an instrumental orientation to employment and training opportunities. The English respondents were more likely than the Germans to value security, less likely to value a career or high wages.

The choice of occupation (as opposed to specific job) has a deeper significance; the 16-19 initiative team suggest that "occupations, actual or anticipated, emerged between 16 and 20 as sources of identity" (Banks *et al.* 1992, p.186). The cultural meanings of these identities has been disputed. Some influential writers (eg Hollands 1990) perceive a continuing strong orientation among young working-class males towards manual work, associated with masculinity. Others suggest that this orientation is now typical of only a small proportion of young men; although, if there has indeed been a change in occupational orientations, it is hard to say whether this responds to a change in the available opportunities or to some more deep-seated change in values. Among females, Hollands identifies "glamour", "domestic" and "factory" orientations.

How well are these values and identities realised in the jobs actually held by young people? Here again the evidence is conflicting. Several studies have described young workers as being "trapped" in uncongenial jobs (Wallace 1987) or as "still hoping and trying" to find jobs that would fulfil their original aspirations (Roberts *et al.* 1987, p.120). Aspirations do not quickly adjust to the available opportunities (Furlong 1992). On the other hand young British workers express more job satisfaction than young workers in most other EC states (CEC 1989) and they display more optimism, self-confidence and self-reliance than their German peers (Bynner and Roberts 1991). One can help to understand - if not wholly explain - these conflicting accounts by noting the great variation across levels or segments of the labour market. Most of the pessimism of researchers providing evidence of young people in unsatisfying or inappropriate jobs refers to those in the less skilled sectors of the labour market and/or in areas or times of high unemployment. Guidance provision needs to take account of these inequalities in employment, and also to recognise how the state of the labour market can affect the position of young people in employment as well as those seeking it.

The institutional and labour-market context also influences the way in which young people pursue their goals and aspirations. The follow-up to the Anglo-German comparison identified four "transition behaviours": "strategic", "step by step", "taking chances" and "wait and see" (Heinz 1993). Strategic behaviour was typical of the highest trajectory, and wait-and-see behaviour (equated with "learned helplessness") with the lowest. Step-by-step behaviour was of particular significance among the young English people studied. It was associated with a flexible approach to occupational choice: young people searched for an interesting occupation rather than pursued a given occupational choice. Even where occupational goals were crystallised, the ways to achieve such goals were less transparent in England than in Germany, again encouraging a flexible step-by-step approach. The study suggests that job sampling and labour-market transitions have a role in personal and career development in England that would be associated with educational transitions in Germany.

What guidance needs do young people in full-time employment themselves perceive?

It is difficult to establish from existing research the perceptions which young people in full-time employment have of their guidance needs. Research which does exist (CEC 1991) is based on asking young people where they might look for guidance or to whom they might

turn, but their views in this context are expressed as a response to existing supply rather than as self-identified needs which may, in order to be fulfilled, require an extension or an alteration to the existing supply.

It is also difficult to find explicit comment from young people on the quality of the existing supply and therefore of its relative usefulness to them. For example, most young people say they would turn to their parents for vocational guidance, but the quality of that guidance is not explicit. As has been seen however, the 16-19 Initiative researchers have commented that "young people and their parents are at sea with respect to what needs to be done to ensure their futures", and clearly in families where the parents have themselves no experience of further education or training and may have a history of unemployment it is unlikely that they will have the knowledge necessary to offer really useful careers guidance to their children.

The reasons for the lack of attention to the guidance needs of young people in employment can only be surmised. In the UK policy in youth research since the 1970s has tended to concentrate either on education-labour market transitions or on "problematic" issues to do with young people. Bergeret and Chisholm (1991) describe education-labour market transition as "one area (in the UK) which has received enormous policy attention from the end of the 1970s" and which has "effectively defined the empirical field during the 1980s". Given the rising levels of youth unemployment in the 1970s and 1980s and the rapidly changing nature of the labour market it is understandable that research should concentrate on the transitional period rather than on the post-transition period. Research which does carry on into the post-transition period is itself largely restricted to statistical research such as the LFS and the analysis of statistical data, rather than qualitative research. It is also less common in the UK than in some other European countries for research on young people to go up to 28 years.

Throughout the 1980s much of the specific, issue-oriented post-16 youth research which has been conducted (as opposed to large scale general surveys of young peoples behaviour or attitudes) has been concentrated on addressing the economic and social problems facing young people such as homelessness, drugs and alcohol abuse, violence, single parenthood and unemployment. Whether as a result of scarce funding resources or as a result of deliberate policy imperatives, or as a mixture of the two, there has been less concentration on the situation of those young people who have satisfactorily made the transition from school or further or higher education or training to work and who are now in their early to mid-twenties.

Where is guidance sought

There is some evidence of the guidance sought by young people generally in the CEC's report on "Young Europeans in 1990". When asked from whom they would seek guidance when seeking a career choice, 79% of 15-24 year olds in the UK said parents or family, 47% said friends of their age, 15% said guidance services at school or university but only 6% said they would seek guidance services outside school or university. Although this breakdown includes young people who are still studying, the figures for young people of 19+ throughout the Community show that 75% would turn to parents or family, and 8% to guidance services outside school or university. In the UK, for those in employment who were asked how they found their present job, the highest percentage of young people, 28% found it through parents, or friends of family, with 18% finding it through job centres or employment agencies. There

was no question asked about using a careers or guidance organisation for assistance with finding a job.

Guidance and job-changing

It is impossible to make a direct or causal link between the job-changing patterns and frequencies of young people and the apparent lack of vocational guidance from professional advisers, since, apart from a lack of information on guidance, there are other factors affecting job-changing which have been referred to earlier in this report. More research would be needed to separate out how much job changing is because of an initial mis-match between the individual and the job and if so whether this mis-match arose from lack of guidance, from poor guidance, or from pressure to take any work in times of high unemployment.

We know from the research evidence that the process of occupational entry may involve young people simply taking what limited occupational opportunities they can in times of high unemployment. It is not known whether they subsequently change because they lose their jobs or make positive and informed choices to change.

The need for guidance

Although there is little qualitative evidence of the guidance needs of young people in employment, we do have some evidence of the need for guidance across all ages of employees, including younger employees.

In 1986 the Unit for the Development of Adult Continuing Education (UDACE) and the Scottish Institute of Adult Continuing Education (SIACE) were commissioned by the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) to carry out a piece of research in to "Advice and Guidance to Individuals" (Alloway 1987). One of the significant findings of the research was that "18 - 24 year olds did not express needs significantly different from people over 25", but that "18 - 24 year olds are more likely than older people to be seeking advice and information relating directly to new jobs and careers." Another interesting finding was that there was a mismatch between the perceptions of employees about the role of employers regarding guidance and the perception of employers of their role. The study found that:

> It is clear that many employers (especially smaller, private sector production and service firms) do not see guidance as a part of their role, certainly not in any broader sense, yet more individuals would turn to their employer for guidance than to any other agency.

Since 1987 a number of large companies in the UK have taken on a more proactive role in guidance for their employees, but smaller companies overall still do not see it as their role to offer vocational guidance to their employees.

More recent research on the guidance needs of employees has been carried out at least partly as a result of the introduction of Local Enterprise Companies and Training and Enterprise Councils and allied changes and developments in the provision of vocational training in the UK. There have recently been three separate pieces of LEC-commissioned research in Scotland with employees of all ages (Watt *et al.* 1990, 1991, 1992), including 16 - 28 year-old employees, which sought to establish the identified need of employees for guidance, as well as the present sources which employees would use for vocational guidance. Individual

interviews and focus groups with employees in companies in the Central Region, Grampian Region, and in Orkney asked about employees' experiences of using existing vocational guidance provision, and about their perceived needs for vocational guidance.

The research found gaps in information about training, skill and career development and the identified lack of a central location for guidance. Employees expressed the need and wish for locally-based individualised information and guidance about training and job-changing. These interviewees did not view Job Centre staff as having the expertise necessary to meet their needs, and had been unable, for a variety of reasons, to access specialised careers staff in colleges. The response to this research from adults in employment was extremely positive about the need for individual guidance on career changing and career development.

Providers of adult guidance were interviewed and admitted that their current resources were insufficient to meet the potential demand for counselling from people in employment. The outcomes of these three pieces of research were the establishment of three centrally located guidance and learning "shops" which offer individualised vocational guidance targeted on people in employment.

What guidance provision is available to young people in full-time employment?

Although the precise nature of the needs of young people in full-time employment are not well known, there is an increasing level of supply in terms of guidance provision. Most provision is offered through agencies outside the working environment, although there is limited and growing provision for people in employment. The overwhelming bulk of guidance for people in employment, whether external or internal, is targeted on, and predicated on, responding to individual needs rather than perceived needs of particular categories or groups such as young people under 28.

The National Institute for Careers Education and Counselling (NICEC) report on "Education and Vocational Guidance Services in the United Kingdom" (Hawthorn and Watts 1993) provides a comprehensive review of this field; it would be superfluous to repeat all the details here. Table 1, adapted from this report, summarises some of the main providers. From the NICEC report it is clear that the bulk of guidance provision post-school is supplied either to students in colleges and universities, or to unemployed people seeking training. For those not in education or training, the traditional professional source of adult guidance in the UK is the Adult Educational Guidance Services, funded through the local authority Careers Services. Adult careers guidance is not a statutory provision, and most adult guidance services do not therefore have the resources to meet the potential and growing demand from the employed population. Typically there might be three or four adult guidance workers, to service the total adult population within an LEA or Regional authority area and in many instances the emphasis in their work is on assisting those who are out of work. In some parts of the country Careers Services also offer guidance to people in employment but have now introduced fees for services for this group.

There is a developing and increasing range of guidance services, available to the employed and the unemployed, which are offered outside the services provided by Local Authority Careers Services. Some of these are described briefly below.

Employment Service

In addition to the Careers Service, the Employment Service offers information and interviews through its Job Centre staff, for adults in employment who wish to change jobs. Job Centre staff are not trained guidance or careers officers (see Table 2 "Overview of training and qualifications for guidance staff in the UK", also from Hawthorn and Watts 1993) and the information on jobs which such staff can offer is related to the jobs which they have available in the Job Centre. Job Centres are not, by and large, used by employers for advertising or recruiting professional staff or middle to upper managerial staff and therefore they are limited in the range and level of service they can offer to all people in employment.

Private employment agencies

Some private employment agencies offer an element of advice and information to those wishing to change jobs, but they are overwhelming by placement agencies and offer little in the way of individualised guidance, concentrating more on matching job seekers to the vacancies which they have available. Such agencies receive their fees from employers and therefore are led by employer demand.

Outplacement agencies

There are private agencies which assist with CV writing, job search, and interview techniques, particularly for managerial and professional job-changers. These agencies tend to be expensive for individuals (prices can range from £200 - £2000 for consultations) and are mostly used by large corporations for "outplacing" redundant executives. Private agencies giving guidance on employment make use of psychologists and psychological testing of various sorts probably to a greater extent than is used within the public guidance services.

TEC and LEC provision

The most interesting recent developments in the provision of careers guidance or careers choice for adults in employment have been initiated partly as a result of developments in government policy in the area of careers education, partly as a result of initiatives developed by the Employment Service in England, and partly arising from the creation of the Training and Enterprise Councils in England and Wales and the Local Enterprise Companies in Scotland. The political or philosophical basis for many of the developments is rooted in the belief that guidance can be regarded as a commodity within an existing or potential market. Not surprisingly issues to do with value, quality, and cost in guidance are all now coming to the fore as the market comes into play.

Some of the major recent initiatives in developing the market in guidance include:

Guidance/learning and training shops: A range of guidance shops and centres in High Street sites in cities throughout the UK, funded by the TECs and LECs, offer a range of services to individuals, from information and advice about training and learning through to individualised careers guidance with professional staff, to allowing the use of computerised guidance, inter-active videos, and reference material. Such shops are open to employed and unemployed people, and in some instances charge fees to adults in employment who desire individual counselling sessions. Most of the shops also have a retail element and customers

can purchase books, videos and other learning and training materials. All the shops are relatively recent, none being over three years old and many less than one year old.

There is also a range of business advice or "One Stop" shops funded through the Department of Trade and Industry, which offer guidance to those wishing to set up in business or to develop small businesses; but these are quite different from the guidance/learning and training shops.

Adult guidance vouchers (Gateways to Learning): Adult guidance vouchers were introduced originally by some TECs as a way of encouraging people not in employment to seek guidance about their learning and training needs. There is now a UK adult guidance voucher initiative, funded through the Employment Service's "Gateways to Learning" initiative and being piloted by TECs and LECs, which offers vouchers to adults in employment which can then be exchanged for guidance from any one of a network of guidance providers. The network might be comprised of a range of public and private providers.

Assessment/accreditation of prior learning (Skill Choice): The Employment Service are funding another pilot initiative through TECs and LECs, called Skill Choice, which seeks to encourage employers to use existing guidance provision, (such as careers and learning shops), where employees can gain access to guidance, can be assessed on their past and current skills and experience, and can develop Personal Development Plans outlining their vocational and educational needs. Skill Choice reflects the perception that there is insufficient demand from employers for training; Skill Choice is seen as enabling TECs and LECs to penetrate the employer side, the longer-term aim being that the process of identifying training needs will lead to the provision of vouchers for education and training which can be used by employees.

Investors in People: LECs and TECs are using the introduction of "Investors in People", the human resource development quality standard for companies, as a tool for encouraging companies to develop guidance for their employees. For example, one of the requirements for gaining the Investors in People award is that all employees should have their own development plan.

Personal Development Plans: Personal Development Planning is being encouraged generally with employers. Within the Central Region of Scotland, there is an innovative development in networking on Personal Development Plans. The guidance agencies serving the area have combined to produce one Plan format which will be recognised and used by secondary schools, the Local Enterprise Company contractors, the Employment Service, the Adult Guidance service and the Guidance/Learning and Training Shop. The aim is also to introduce the standard Plan format to employees so that all individuals and employers will eventually be able to recognise and value the Personal Development Plan. It is intended that the Plan will be more than an individual's personal record of achievement but will also contain details of personal assessments, future aims, notes of action needed and so on.

Employer initiatives

At employer level, with and without the involvement and/or the encouragement of TECs/LECs there have been a number of developments over recent years. These include the development of learning companies, and the establishment of internal guidance provision, for

example by British Airways. Blake Stevenson has produced a "Synopsis of Good and Innovatory Practice on the development of Learning Cultures within Companies" (1993), and this describes internal company schemes where employees are given information and advice about learning and career opportunities which are not directly related to their current job. Ford Motor Company, Colmans of Norwich, Lucas Industries, Rover Cars, and Post Office Counters are just some of the companies which currently offer such provision. British Airways has taken this provision one step further; it offers an internal guidance service to its staff at Heathrow and Glasgow Airports, where staff can go to seek general careers counselling.

What use is made of this provision, by whom, and how helpful is it judged to be?

Because most of the above initiatives are relatively new, there has to date been little evaluation of their take up by adults. It is also unknown whether particular groups amongst the workforce are being targeted to encourage take-up of the provision or whether any evaluation which may be taking place will provide a break down of users by age.

Initial evaluation carried out by Grampian's Stepahead shop has shown that the average number of customers per month over the period September 1992 to April 1993 was around 2,000, with 49% being in employment and 51% non-employed. Twenty-nine percent of customers were in the 18-24 age range.

IV YOUNG HOMELESS PEOPLE

This chapter is about the second of our target groups, young people who are homeless. Where possible, we consider homeless young people under the headings used in the previous chapter, though the ordering is changed. Research on homelessness in youth, however, though currently widespread, has really only proliferated in the last few years, and has thus not followed the systematic paths of research into transitions into the labour market.

Some recent research shows that the United Kingdom has one of the highest incidences in Europe of reported homelessness, at 12.2 persons per thousand (see Table 3). The average age of homeless people is dropping with around 70% of the homeless now reckoned to be under 40 years of age. This research was carried out by FEANTSA (the European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless), and only covered people using services for the homeless provided by official or voluntary groups. It excluded the "hidden homeless" (for example, people who did not seek a bed for the night, stayed with friends or were at risk of homelessness through family breakdown - see below). A broader definition of homelessness would probably have revealed the UK in a more favourable comparative position. On the one hand, other European countries (especially in southern Europe) have higher levels of hidden homelessness; on the other hand, the UK has a relatively high level of service provision compared with other countries, and the figures in Table 3 reflect the level of provision as much as the need for it. Nevertheless, the point remains that even following a very narrow definition, the absolute level of homelessness is high, and young people are a significant proportion of those affected.

Definition, categories

Homeless young people are not easy to identify or locate. Estimates of the numbers of young people who are homeless are based on presentations to agencies or projects, and thus tend to include double-counts. Whatever the current incidence of homelessness in Britain, it is generally agreed that there has been a huge increase over the last 5 years, especially among the under-18s. Many observers comment that the change in Social Security regulations in 1988 (which effectively withdrew Income Support from this age group), has at least been a contributory factor.

The United Nations (UN) definition of homelessness includes "those who have no home and who live either outdoors or in emergency shelters or hostels, and people whose homes do not meet basic UN standards". By basic standards the UN definition means: adequate protection from the elements, access to safe water and sanitation, secure tenure, personal safety, accessibility to employment, education and health care, and affordable prices. While the UK Government focuses on provision for young people who are "roofless", this is a very narrow definition of a social problem which is far more wide-ranging (Greve 1990). Homeless young people, following the broader UN definition, may be in any of the following situations:

- "Roofless" - this includes sleeping rough, sometimes in inner city areas in "Cardboard Cities", in the stair wells or near central heating outlets of blocks of flats, in shop doorways or under bridges
- In rural areas, in caravans or beach huts out of season
- In emergency or long term hostels for homeless people, sometimes hostels specialising in young people

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- "Hidden homeless" - those who are seeking independent housing, but in the meantime are living with friends or relatives without security, and often in overcrowded housing.

It is clear from this listing that homelessness can take many forms, and that homeless young people may be hard to locate. This has implications for assessment and provision of their guidance needs.

By which processes or transitions do young people become homeless?

Causes of homelessness can broadly be distinguished in terms of supply-side and demand-side characteristics of the housing market. Youth homelessness was not visible in Britain until recently, when the previous relative fit between housing supply and housing demand began to disintegrate. Whereas in the past entrants into the housing market tended to be young married couples, often dual earners without children, housing demand increasingly came from young single people wanting independent accommodation on their own or with friends. The type of housing available, the housing subsidy system, and the safety-net provisions of accommodation for homeless families with children, have all proved unable to cater for this new demand. Additionally, as the cheaper end of the housing market has shrunk (with deregulation of the rented sector and increased emphasis on home-ownership), so young people's opportunities for incomes tailored to the needs of independent living have dwindled, and young people seeking entry into the housing market have found it more difficult to compete in it. Though young people have increasingly sought independence away from the family home at younger ages (young workers following the example of students in this respect), opportunities for them to do so have faded. Leaving home has become more imbued with risk. Those who cannot find and keep housing may have to return to live with parents. While for many this may reflect choice, for others it represents constraint and hidden homelessness, an alternative to sleeping rough (Jones 1993a).

Policies designed to encourage young people to delay their departure from the family home or to return home if they lose their jobs, overlook the kinds of problems many young people face in their relationships with their parents, especially when families have experienced breakdown or poverty. At an individual level, factors increasing the risk of homelessness include history of family breakdown, and in particular the presence of a step-parent, large families, and unemployment in the family. These are the factors which also determine whether the family is able to function in a caring and supporting way to provide a safety net to those young people from whom state support and other income opportunities have been withdrawn. Without a family safety net, young people who are unable to find well-paid employment or who lose their jobs are particularly at risk of homelessness. Youth training allowances and low youth wages do not typically cater for young people with independent living expenses (Roberts *et al.* 1987).

While the transition into the housing market can be seen as following particular trajectories in a way similar to the transition into the labour market (described in the previous chapter), it is not possible to understand "becoming homeless" or "becoming jobless" in these terms. Apart from predisposing factors, homelessness and joblessness must be seen in terms of a conjunction at a point in time of several different sets of circumstances, sometimes including personal choice. People may have become homeless because of a particular incident, because they have been evicted from their previous housing, because they lost their jobs, because they

got into debt, because they did not get on with the people they lived with, combined with circumstances in which they knew of no alternative housing they could afford.

Young people's transitions out of the parental home, and in most cases into independent housing (alone or with peers) are closely associated with other transitions to adult life: while the association between leaving home and getting married has decreased (Kiernan 1992, Jones 1987), the association between leaving home and entry into the labour market has increased. There are more young workers in the housing market, though this is a group for whom risk in the housing market has increased. Recent government initiatives for the homeless in the UK have centred on "foyers" schemes for young workers, which specifically link the right to housing with work (in other words, young people have to earn the right to be housed). Foyers are derived from a long-standing French idea. In the UK context, while they will provide housing for some young people, they are unlikely to reduce the incidence of youth homelessness. Nevertheless, they are an example of the link between housing and employment being made. Most young homeless are unemployed (56%, according to a recent Scottish survey of homeless 16-22 year-olds). The link between homelessness and joblessness is likely to be growing, particularly since the withdrawal and gradual erosion of state benefits during the 1980s.

Burton *et al.* (1989) comment that the housing market has become inflexible at a time when in order to compete for jobs geographical mobility is required more than ever. Whether mobility for work is voluntary or involuntary would be hard to determine, since there may frequently be an element of choice as well as constraint. However, mobility can be associated with problems. Some young people move from their home areas in order to find work, and may become homeless in an area about which they have insufficient knowledge (Sexton *et al.* 1991, on Irish migrants to London). A study of young Scots who had become homeless in London reveals that they had unrealistic expectations about both housing and employment and often arrived in London with no funds or fall-back position (Shelter 1991). Those who do not find jobs before their funds run out find themselves caught in a poverty trap. No home, no job.

What are the social and educational characteristics of young homeless people?

Homeless young people are a heterogeneous group. Young people experiencing different forms of homelessness, or at different stages in a career of housing and homelessness, may have different characteristics. Thus, most young people in hostels or hidden homeless are women (Anderson 1993), while most of those sleeping rough are men (Smith and Gilford 1991, Jones 1993b). Characteristics of those who have been homeless for longer are likely to be different from those of young people who have recently become homeless, especially in terms of their employment histories, and their prospects for re-housing.

Overall, though, when a sample of homeless young Scots was compared with a nationally representative sample of young Scots, some important differences emerge (Jones and Stevens 1993). The homeless group tended not to have had a positive experience of education or training. They tended to have left school at the minimum age, were more likely to have truanted and to have left school with no qualifications. Thus, for example, 63% of the homeless group truanted at school, compared with only 15% of the national sample. Of those who undertook YT, only 20% finished their scheme (compared with 51% nationally), and 54% became unemployed after their training (compared with 15% nationally). Only 8% were

currently in full-time employment. 56% were currently unemployed. The homeless group also differed in terms of their family characteristics from the national sample; they tended to come from larger families, they were far less likely to be living with both natural parents at 16 (29%, compared with 82% nationally), and they were more likely to have a step-parent. Their parents were more likely to be unemployed, and less likely to have given them financial help. About 60% of homeless young people had originally left home because they did not get on with their families, mainly their parents or step-parents. Perhaps most significantly, 31% of the homeless group had been in local authority care since the age of 14 (Jones 1993a), and this finding is corroborated in other studies (eg Randall 1988), indicating longer-term family problems.

Many homeless young people, especially those aged under 18, have no formal income, and some said they managed by begging, shoplifting or doing casual work. Rooflessness in particular may be associated with sub-cultural activities and "life-styles". Some young homeless people may be involved in drug-related subcultures. Many have health problems associated with or exacerbated by sleeping rough, such as bronchitis and chronic chest complaints. A recent study in Edinburgh also found that many have eating disorders as a result of not getting regular nourishing meals (Kirk *et al.* 1991).

The implication of this description is that homeless young people tend to be excluded from participation in many areas of their lives. They have not benefited greatly from education and training and are excluded from the labour market. They also appear in many cases to have had negative experiences of parenting and home life. Many have no contact with their parents or families, and 90% said they had no intention of returning home to live. They may be forced to rely on "street sub-cultures" for support and information. Hostels providing for homeless young people often provide considerable emotional support and advice as well as food and shelter.

What are the main transitions of young people within, and out of, homelessness?

Homeless young people may move between types of homelessness, from sleeping rough, to living in a hostel, to being rehoused, to being evicted because they had no means of paying the rent, to living with relatives, to sleeping rough again. They may have several episodes of being homeless, interspersed with experience in the housing market. They may return home to their parents several times. One way of conceptualising these complex patterns is to think of them as "housing and homelessness careers" (Jones 1993b, Hutson and Liddiard 1991). The relevant point here is that homelessness is not a static state.

Since studies of homelessness tend to focus on those who are currently homeless, it is difficult to define the paths out of homelessness (other than temporary ones which lead back into homelessness again, as explained above). Jones' (1993b) study based on retrospective data indicates that the longer a person is homeless, the more they tend towards living in hostel accommodation rather than other homeless situations. Movement out of homelessness for the longer-term homeless is thus likely to depend on the extent to which hostels can intervene to break a pattern of homelessness. Other issues are likely to be involved. Long-term homelessness, and the failure of agencies to intervene may be associated with a homeless person's behaviour problems, such as drug or alcohol abuse, anti-social behaviour, etc, all of which can result in eviction from hostel accommodation as well as more settled forms of housing.

What are the goals, values and aspirations of young homeless people?

Young people who are homeless, whether sleeping rough or in insecure accommodation, are likely to be more concerned about day-to-day survival than planning ahead. Some express the view that planning ahead is useless anyway in an uncertain world (Jones and Gilliland 1993). Young people sleeping rough say that they do not think about the future. In such circumstances, aspirations tend to be basic, and the question of careers does not arise. Survival is paramount.

When asked what would make their lives better in the future, homeless young people often expressed their need for safety, security and stability (Jones 1993b). A minority said that they first needed to sort themselves out, for instance with a drugs or drink problem. In general, they most frequently linked their need for a home with that for a job. Often this was qualified to a proper job, or a full-time job, but 32% when asked more specifically about the kind of job they would like to be doing in 5 years time could not give a specific answer. 70% of the homeless group said they would need further training to do the job they wanted, and 15% were not sure whether it would involve further training or not. Other than jobs, they wanted a home of their own and many also said a family of their own (Jones 1993b). Most homeless young people thus want a conventional life style, with jobs, homes and families. In many cases it would be difficult to know what they base these aspirations on, since they may have had no previous experience of "conventional" family life with stability or security.

Re-building the lives of many homeless young people may be a gradual process of repairing damage as well as providing new opportunities. It is not just that homelessness may be a damaging experience, but also that scars remain from childhood experience.

What guidance needs do young homeless people themselves perceive?

Homeless young people's needs reflect their experience not just of homelessness but also of the circumstances and events leading up to it. The following points should be re-iterated:

- They may have had negative experiences of education and training structures in the past;
- They may have no access to informal guidance and support through their families;
- Their experience of homelessness and earlier events may have meant loss of stability, security, privacy and self-identity.

Young people's guidance needs reflect these points. Career guidance for homeless young people will only have relevance to their lives if broader needs are understood. Strategies for helping homeless young people into housing and employment must involve a comprehensive approach to their problems, since housing and employment needs cannot be dealt with in isolation.

Although there is little research on the guidance needs of homeless people specifically, some research carried out for Apex Scotland, did look at the guidance needs of young people who were offenders, ex-offenders, or at risk of offending (Hurley 1989). This research showed that young people leaving custody would approach three agencies - in order of priority, housing, social work, and the Job Centre. The Careers Service was seen by those interviewed as being for school-children, and not highly regarded as a service, and the young people

interviewed were unaware of any alternative source of official guidance on employment or training other than the Job Centre. A major part of this research was an assessment of the need for guidance, education, training and employment for vulnerable young people. This assessment was carried out with all Social Work Departments, Education Departments and Careers Services in Scottish local authorities, with the then Training Agency, and with agencies working with vulnerable and homeless young people, including Shelter, and with employers. As part of the study, a number of young people in prison who had at some stage in their lives been homeless were interviewed and questioned about their needs for guidance, for employment and training.

The consolidation of views from all agencies and individuals interviewed was distilled into a number of needs which were agreed to by all:

- A need for vulnerable young people to be counted, literally and figuratively;
- A need for continuity of care and contact; the need for support whilst progressing from one agency to another;
- Close adult support at a practical as well as psychological level;
- Information, advice and counselling;
- Time to try out opportunities and receive an income whilst doing so;
- Security of accommodation whilst training;
- Trust, confidence and respect from professionals and employers;
- Work which is disciplined, demanding and offers some level of satisfaction;
- Security of employment.

In 1981 the Department of Environment's report "Single and Homeless" found that over two-thirds of the young homeless people interviewed had spent some time in institutionalised accommodation, either children's homes, probation hostels or prisons. A later study, Jones (1993) has found that 31% of homeless young people had been in local authority care since the age of 14. The link between young people who have experienced early difficulties, related to family or other social reasons, and homelessness is therefore strong and leads to additional and very specific guidance needs.

What guidance provision is available to homeless young people?

Family, Friends, Officials

As indicated above, guidance provision needs to be part of an integrated approach. Currently, it seems that homeless young people get advice from a variety of sources, but mainly from friends or from hostel workers, rather than from more formal sources of information.

Respondents to the survey of homeless young Scots (Jones and Stevens, 1993) were asked where they would go for help in finding work or for advice about training and courses, and about housing. Not surprisingly, perhaps, most said they would go to the housing department for housing advice and a careers office for advice about training or courses. However, hostel staff apparently frequently gave advice on both these subjects. What was noticeable was that they were far less likely than a national sample to get informal information through their families, and more than twice as likely to have job advice about their current job or scheme from a JobCentre. They were also less likely to get job information from advertisements or through direct approach to employers. They were also asked who they turned to, and who

they would most like to turn to, for personal advice, and while most said they currently turned to project staff or friends, it is very noticeable that most would like instead to be able to turn to a parent or grandparent.

Pilot project on careers education for parents

A recent project (Semple 1993) piloted careers education with parents of school age children using leaflets, open learning materials and discussion groups. The researcher found that using the open learning materials was a very successful route for enabling parents to develop informed guidance and to relate well to their children in the area of career planning and choice. Positive outcomes such as those achieved in this research point to the potential for successfully assisting parents to offer informed guidance to their children.

The evidence that young people who are homeless would look to or would like to look to parents for advice underlines the significance of parental influence on the nature of the choices which young people make and perhaps points to a need for more involvement, and education of, parents in the guidance system before young people leave school.

Apex courses

One of the recommendations and outcomes from the Apex research was that bridging courses should be established for young people coming out of care or prison and young people who are homeless. These courses have now been designed and funded and have been running, coordinated and tutored by Apex staff, for eighteen months. There are ten young people on each course, five men and five women between the ages of 17 and 21. All of the young people on the course either are or have been homeless prior to coming on the course and many have either none or limited contact with their parents. Where there is contact with parents it can sometimes be apparently counter-productive (for example one young woman's mother took her on a two day drinking binge for her sixteenth birthday) the significance of parental influence on these young people is an important factor therefore and has to be taken into account whether apparently negative or positive.

The Apex courses are essentially extended guidance and job search courses with a large degree of personal support built in and in employment preparation from companies such as Scottish Gas, Royal Mail, Kwik Fit, the Forestry Commission and Scottish Business in the Community. The courses are difficult to run and participate in because they put heavy demands on staff and students but they have had important success to date in helping around 80% of the young people move on into education, training or employment. They would seem therefore to be meeting a need.

Careers Service/YT providers

Careers Services do not keep details of numbers of homeless young people but most young people presenting with the associated characteristics which homeless young people have would tend to be referred to "Category B" places on YT where they would, in theory at least, receive the additional personal support and guidance they might need.

Social workers/hostel workers in statutory and voluntary agencies

We know that young people will look to hostel workers and less so Social Workers for advice in the area of employment and training, and perforce social workers and hostel workers will inform to the level that they can. These workers are not guidance workers however and their range of knowledge in the field of education and training is limited. Hostel workers have a financial imperative on them to ensure that the young people with them have an income, where possible, and therefore do have some awareness of opportunities in employment and training and of referral sources.

It is unknown to what extent, if any, social workers refer young people to guidance agencies, or even if they know of relevant agencies to refer these young people to. It is equally unknown to what extent social workers' personal views of schemes such as YT influence their young clients. Given the important interface between social workers and young homeless people the above may be questions worth exploring.

Adult/youth and community education workers

Workers in the field of community education can and do offer informal vocational guidance to young homeless people either within community based projects or within youth projects. Few such projects are targeted solely on young homeless people but many vulnerable young people who move in and out of homelessness find a stability within such projects which does not exist elsewhere in their lives. Community education workers may be expected to have a better understanding and range of knowledge in employment and training than social workers, but as with social workers the quality and content of their guidance for homeless young people is not known.

Open Door Glasgow

One project funded by Glasgow Development Agency does specifically target homeless young people of 16 and 17 who are staying in hostel accommodation. This is a career and personal development course and is run through Community Service Volunteers. It is aimed at bringing young people to a point where they can enter mainstream training or employment.

Drop-in centres

Drop-in centres such as that run by Barony Housing Association in Edinburgh and "Off the Record", an information, advice and counselling centre for young people in Stirling, also offer support for homeless young people.

Computerised guidance services

The experience of some community-based projects, particularly in peripheral housing estates, e.g. Wester Hailes Opportunity Trust, is that young people who might be wary of approaching individuals for advice will use computerised systems such as TAP (Training Access Points) and this can on occasion lead the young person into contact with a guidance worker.

What use is made of this provision, by whom, and how helpful is it judged to be?

Many young people in the survey of homeless young Scots (Jones and Stevens 1993) felt that they had had little appropriate help, or help when they needed it, from official sources. One-third had been in care and thus had social work help in childhood. Many wished that teachers etc had been more understanding, and that school education had been more relevant. Comments on the guidance they received when at school varied between those who found it helpful, and those who were scathing and rejecting of what they saw as inappropriate help. Many appear to have welcomed the support currently given by hostel workers, but views on social workers are more mixed.

Initiatives such as the Apex courses and Open Door in Glasgow are popular with the young people who come to them and do seem to meet the need for individualised care, support, continuity, security, and confidence building which young homeless people have.

Assessment of the quality of support for homeless young people in YT, what would be termed "Special Needs" trainees has not been undertaken because such young people are not singled out as a category.

Provision to meet the needs of homeless and vulnerable young people is expensive because it is labour intensive, it demands specialist expertise, and it takes longer than provision for young people in stable situations. At least partly for this reason these initiatives are, in the words of Burton (1990), "extremely fragile - they tend to have no guarantee of long term support and exist on a year-to year basis. In these circumstances it is very easy to fail but very difficult to succeed".

The need for partnerships between agencies such as training providers, the Employment Service, housing providers and the Benefits Agency has been recognised (TEC 1992). Training provision might need to include training in social skills. However, a recent study for the Employment Department (Metcalf and Christie 1992) suggests that employers also need educating, since one of the main barriers to employment for homeless people is the attitude of employers who draw on stereotypes of homelessness. Employers who took part in initiatives for homeless young people such as LEAP (Linked Employment and Accommodation Project) and GATE (Guaranteed Accommodation and Training for Employment) were able to look beyond a person's homelessness and see their capabilities.

V THE EUROPEAN DIMENSION

Mobility

Young people in full-time employment

There is comparatively little mobility amongst young people in Europe in order to take up work or training. Only 7% of all young people interviewed in the *Young Europeans in 1990* study (CEC 1991) had travelled abroad to study or train. Only 8% of young people who had been abroad had worked abroad. It is not known from the study whether these were students working short-term during vacation time, or more permanent workers.

One of the biggest obstacles facing young people in employment who might wish to travel or work abroad is not the lack of guidance or information but the lack of language skills amongst the UK population. If a young person is keen and determined to work or train abroad the chances are that they can, although probably with time and difficulty, track down the required information. The research and development being undertaken through the PETRA programme will mean that over time it will become easier for those who wish to work abroad to find the information they need. But the chronic inability of the British to learn foreign languages severely inhibits their ability to work abroad in occupations which require communication skills.

Probably the most common, although still limited, means by which young people in employment take up working or training in other parts of Europe is through their employer transferring them to a plant or office of their company in another European country. Hoechst UK for example sends young engineers to train at its plant in Germany, Hewlett Packard has sent workers to its factory in France, the Royal Bank of Scotland sends management staff to the Banco de Santander in Spain.

Bringing in a European dimension, where appropriate, into the personal development planning process with employers and employees could be a longer term possibility in the UK once personal development planning itself has taken firm roots.

Young homeless people

The higher their educational level, the more common it is for young people to have overseas work experience, above all for periods from 1 to 6 months. Indeed young people who have left school at sixteen are much less likely to go abroad for any reason than those who have a higher level of education and training. The likelihood is that this is more to do with economic and social reasons than personal preference.

It is unrealistic therefore to expect that young people who are homeless and who display many of the characteristics of low academic qualifications, low skill levels, and low self-confidence already referred to this in report, will be able independently to travel to work or train in other European countries. This may lead to a questioning of whether guidance on mobility in Europe ought therefore to be available to this group of young people.

In carrying out this research interesting evidence on homeless people and their attitude to mobility emerged. Workers in the Stirling advice, counselling and information centre "Off the

Record" have found that putting notices in their windows advertising jobs and training opportunities in European countries, has attracted young homeless people into to the shop to enquire about these opportunities. According to the centre workers the young people themselves know that their immediate prospects of working abroad are unrealistic but they find it easier to ask for information on this and then to open up with their real enquiry, usually about homelessness or unemployment, once they have established some element of rapport with the worker. This centre therefore finds the notion of European mobility a very useful "hook" for attracting in young people, whilst acknowledging that only the most able and highly qualified young people actually proceed with investigating opportunities for training or working in other countries.

It may be however, that opening up the distant prospect of training or work abroad could offer some incentive or aim to some homeless young people which could prove significant in the choices these young people then make.

The Danish experience

Achieving young people

Part of the work in this research involved meeting with the Danish researcher and enquiring into the approaches which the Danes adopt to higher achieving young people who feel mismatched in their employment. Limited study of the Danish approach to working with vulnerable young people was also undertaken.

An extremely useful and innovative aspect of the Danish practice and experience concerns their approach to the content and nature of guidance as exemplified by one particular project in Arhus. This project is part of the Association of Frontrunners projects and is called the "Chaos Pilots". It is so called because the participants believe that the future is chaotic and they have to learn how to navigate their way through it. The project is targeted on and made up of highly qualified, very able and articulate young people in their twenties. Most of these young people have chosen not to enter employment or to leave employment and to take part in this three year project which is about new ways of looking at careers and career development within a changing and "chaotic" society. The project is based on encouraging creativity, ideas, and leadership as well as having a sound knowledge base, and encouraging high technology skills development. Apple Mackintosh in Denmark is sufficiently impressed by the project to have supplied each of the students with a computer, and as part of their sponsorship they ask the students to try out and comment on the software Apple is developing.

There are teachers, exams, and a syllabus so this is not an unstructured or in any way esoteric project. The concept is about opening up new ideas on work and careers for young people rather than continuing along the traditional and predictable paths of employment followed by many high achieving and professional young people. As such it offers an exciting and positive example of one way to encourage and support the development of creativity and ideas amongst young people and is a project which could be of value to individuals and to businesses in the UK.

The Chaos Pilots are very deliberately targeted on young people who are self-confident self-starters and who can work independently or in a group as the need arises. In some ways

the structure is traditional in that the syllabus is pre-set and the participants look to the tutors for their expertise in certain areas. Within this traditional learning structure it is the curriculum content which is radical.

Homeless or vulnerable young people

With vulnerable young people in Denmark the structure of the model referred to here is virtually the opposite from that of the Chaos Pilots. The use of peer group counselling for disadvantaged and unemployed young people is being developed in a number of projects. In this instance the counsellor is in the background able to give support when needed, and the young people work with each other in supporting, identifying and designing their curriculum. Unlike the Chaos Pilots, this can lead to some apparently rather bizarre and unrelated areas for study, for instance investigating the influences of colours on individuals, and expeditions for gathering flowers. However the evidence seems to be that the peer group support does encourage a raising of confidence in those concerned and of course a sense of ownership of the project which might not exist otherwise (Plant 1992).

An assessment by Paul Burton (1990) with regard to initiatives for vulnerable young people is that "the most successful initiatives are usually those which involve young people in defining for themselves the problems they face and which then provide them with support in devising their own solutions".

In the UK situation there is little evidence of peer group counselling schemes involving the most vulnerable young people as counsellors themselves, or of them being trusted sufficiently to determine their own needs in guidance and training. (There are some peer group counselling schemes in existence but they appear to be based on a model of "dissimilar peers" e.g. one group of young people who do not take drugs or indulge in unsafe sex are trained to counsel another group of young people who are judged to be at risk of drug taking or indulging in unsafe sex.) The notion of empowerment for vulnerable young people may exist but the philosophy and practice necessary to really achieve it do not seem to be in place. The significance of genuine peer influence particularly in adolescence is well documented and peer group counselling along the Danish model may be an approach worth considering.

What guidance provision is available to young homeless people?

As indicated above, guidance provision needs to be part of an integrated approach. Currently, it seems that homeless young people get advice from a variety of sources, but mainly from friends or from hostel workers, rather than from more formal sources of information.

Respondents to the survey of homeless young Scots (Jones and Stevens 1993) were asked where they would go for help in finding work or for advice about training and courses, and about housing. Not surprisingly, perhaps, most said they would go to the housing department for housing advice and a careers office for advice about training or courses. However, hostel staff apparently frequently gave advice on both these subjects. What was noticeable was that they were far less likely than a national sample to get informal information through their families, and more than twice as likely to have job advice about their current job or scheme from a JobCentre. They were also less likely to get job information from advertisements or through direct approach to employers.

They were also asked who they turned to, and who they would most *like* to turn to, for personal advice, and while most said they currently turned to project staff or friends, it is very noticeable that most would like instead to be able to turn to a parent or grandparent.

What use is made of this provision, by whom, and how helpful is it judged to be?

Many feel they have had little appropriate help, or help when they needed it, from official sources. One-third of homeless had been in care and thus had social work help in childhood. Many wished that teachers etc had been more understanding, and that school education had been more relevant. Comments on the guidance they received when at school vary between those who found it helpful, and those who were scathing and rejecting of what they saw as inappropriate help. Many appear to have welcomed the support currently given by hostel workers, but views on social workers are more mixed.

VI ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

The need for vocational guidance

1. The structure of the UK labour market underlines the need for vocational guidance that is effective and widely available. Young people still make their occupational choices at a relatively early age, often on the basis of inadequate guidance and information, and with little prior opportunity for socialisation into the occupation concerned. Yet the choice of first job can be critical for their future opportunities, because training opportunities tend to be associated with entry jobs and because internal labour markets often offer the more reliable means of advancement. Especially at times of recession, young employees may feel trapped in their current jobs. While many young people achieve a successful progression in the labour market, the means of doing so tend to be less structured and correspondingly more opaque than in many other countries. There is therefore a continuing need for vocational guidance for young people after they have entered full-time employment, as well as at the time of transition to the labour market.

2. There is a similar clear need for vocational guidance for young people who are homeless. A majority of them are unemployed, and the lack of a job and a wage to support participation in the housing market are aspects of the problem of homelessness. Other factors are involved, and a holistic approach is needed; but vocational guidance must form part of an integrated structure of support available to young homeless people.

General issues for vocational guidance

3. The model of vocational guidance that is employed must be flexible enough to cater for the diversity within as well as between these groups. The guidance needs of young workers vary widely according to their family backgrounds, their age and gender, their skills and qualifications, and the segment of the labour market in which they are employed. Homeless young people are similarly heterogeneous, and guidance provision must take account of the length of their homelessness, their relations with family members and other possible sources of support, health and other personal problems, as well as their skills and labour-market opportunities. The needs of both groups also vary locally and according to the economic cycle.

4. Vocational guidance should take account of the processes by which young people take decisions; young people's decision-making may be instrumental and "pragmatically" rational, but not "technically" rational in a manner presupposed by recent policy interventions such as youth credits.

5. Vocational guidance should take account of other informal influences on young people's decision-making, especially parents, and where possible guidance practitioners should work in conjunction with these. They should seek to educate and support parents in their guidance role, starting from the time when young people are still at school. There is some evidence that structured careers education inputs and open learning approaches are particularly effective.

6. Formal guidance provision is particularly important for young people for whom family support is less effective or less readily available. Examples include children in care,

young people with absent or unemployed parents, young people who have suffered abuse at home, and young people leaving the home area. Such characteristics help to identify young people who may be "at risk" of joblessness or other difficulties in the labour market and who therefore require special attention and early intervention (see below). However guidance should seek wherever possible to build upon the positive aspects of their family support; for example it can help them to identify and make use of members of their (immediate or extended) family on whom they can rely for support.

7. The preventative role of guidance needs to be recognised and developed. Many problems of the two groups discussed in this report arise from earlier decisions (when and how to leave home, choice of first job, etc) that might have been helped by better guidance at that stage. Early intervention is vital, especially for risk groups. The provision of guidance needs to be planned in terms of a life-course perspective that recognises and provides for the critical decision points in a (young) person's career.

8. Vocational guidance needs to be aware of racial and other forms of discrimination in the labour and housing markets, and support the young people affected by it.

9. Many of the considerations discussed above particularly affect young people in rural areas, who therefore have distinctive guidance needs.

Young people in full-time employment

10. The range and amount of vocational guidance for young people in full-time employment should be sufficient for everyone who wants or needs access to professional vocational guidance to be able to receive such guidance. This would necessitate an increase in current provision.

11. Within this framework of general entitlement, guidance provision should prioritise young people whose needs may be greatest, for example: those in occupations with few opportunities for career advancement, those with limited access to internal labour markets, and those with limited access to transferable skills training, and those who may be subject to discrimination.

12. Vocational guidance for young employees should look to be more developmental, challenging and creative than it currently is. The example of the Chaos Pilots in Denmark should be looked to as a possible model.

13. Young workers need more information on how the labour market works (the nature of mobility ladders, the role of qualifications, and practical information on how to take advantage of training and job opportunities).

14. The provision by employers of in-company vocational guidance appears to be a promising area for future development, but there is a need for more evidence on its effectiveness and on the issues that it raises.

15. Employers and trades unions should see access to vocational guidance as part of the conditions of service and to be routinely covered in collective bargaining.

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Homeless young people

16. Guidance for homeless young people should recognise the interrelated nature of their employment, housing and personal needs. A holistic approach is necessary; methods of inter-agency cooperation should be developed and followed as far as possible.

17. Social Work Departments should ensure that social workers in contact with young homeless people are aware of the agencies offering vocational guidance to whom they can refer these young people. Residential staff in voluntary projects for homeless young people should be similarly informed.

18. The Careers Service, and those responsible for supervising, guiding and monitoring the progress of young people through training schemes such as Youth Training, should be aware of relevant housing circumstances of all their clients. As far as possible they should attempt to maintain separate statistics on young people who are homeless and monitor their progress.

19. Guidance for homeless young people should take account of the difficult family and other relationships that may underlie their clients' problems, but it should identify and build on positive relationships where possible.

20. Advocacy on behalf of clients is a commonly recognised element of guidance. Vocational guidance practitioners should consider advocacy on behalf of homeless young people, especially with employers who may be tempted to discriminate against them. Employers would also have an important role in the provision of special training for young homeless people.

VII RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

A number of recommendations for future research into the vocational guidance needs of young people under 28 in the two groups investigated have emerged from this study.

Some of these recommendations may have general application but others will apply specifically either to young people in employment or to young homeless people.

General recommendations

1. The influence of parents in choices made by young people

Parents are a continuing significant influence in the lives of young people. It is necessary to ensure that the informal guidance which they provide is helpful to the young person; this requires that the parents themselves be well-informed. The adequacy of the support currently provided by parents has not been sufficiently examined. There is a need to study parents' knowledge and perceptions of employment and training opportunities for young people. It is also important to know more about the effects of family breakdown on the availability of parental help and on young people's guidance needs.

2. The European Dimension

Relatively little is known about the attitudes of young people to working or studying abroad. The views of employers also need to be investigated, as does the manner in which decisions about working abroad are taken. For example, would it be better to encourage employers where appropriate to make opportunities for some of their workforce to work abroad, or to try to encourage employees directly? Given the problems with languages faced by people in the UK there may be a particular need here for language learning which requires a uniquely UK response. The extent to which qualifications provide a barrier to mobility also requires investigation.

3. Vocational guidance: awareness and use

This area of research would include:

- young people's needs in terms of vocational guidance;
- their use of vocational guidance services to date;
- their views of the quality and nature of vocational guidance they have received to date: of specific interest would be guidance from parents or family members; friends; the careers service; and employers;
- variations by employment status, gender, level of academic and skill attainment, ethnic background, willingness to be mobile, and so on.

Young people in full-time employment

There is a general need to know more about the situation of young people between 16 and 28 who are in full-time employment. In particular the following areas would be of interest:

1. **Career development: attitudes and strategies**

Research has tended to focus on young people's aspirations and decision-making processes when they first enter the labour market; the evidence on the goals, values and aspirations of young people already in full-time employment is scarce and conflicting. There is a need to know more about young employees' views of "careers" and "career development" and the strategies (if any) which they adopt to pursue their goals. An important aspect of this research would be how young employees perceive the match between their aspirations and their current jobs, and the way they respond to perceptions of "mismatch".

2. **Links between job-changing and vocational guidance or the lack of it**

More information is needed about the role, if any, that vocational guidance plays in job-changing amongst young people in employment, about which individual or which agency provides the guidance and about the quality of that guidance.

3. **Awareness and use of guidance for employees**

To what extent do young people not use the available services because they are unaware of them, or do not know that they are available to employees?

4. **The usefulness of new initiatives in adult guidance**

Work needs to be carried out to evaluate the new initiatives such as guidance/learning and training shops which are specifically targeted on people in employment.

5. **The usefulness of vocational guidance in companies**

The existence of vocational guidance in companies is relatively new and more information on employees' and employers' views of this form of guidance would help inform the direction of future policy.

Young Homeless People

1. **Parental and family influence in guidance**

Research on family influences is of particular importance in the case of young homeless people because many of them have had difficult relationships with members of their family. There is a need to examine the particular nature of parental and other family guidance and influence on young homeless people, and at strategies for supporting parents and families in a guidance role. Some new approaches to guidance for young homeless people attempt to identify the most positive family relationships and build on the support that may be available from them. These approaches require detailed evaluation.

2. Experiences of earlier vocational guidance

There is some evidence that many young homeless people have not found the careers guidance they received at school and in the transition from school to the labour market helpful to them. A more detailed study could identify the kinds of young people who find this guidance provision unhelpful, and the nature of their dissatisfaction.

3. Guidance and YT

For many young people who are or have been homeless YT has been their first option post-school. A study of their experiences of guidance pre-entry, during, and on exit from YT would be of interest in assessing whether such guidance actually met their needs in terms of their career or job aspirations, and could help inform practice.

4. Peer group counselling

There is, as has been seen in Denmark, potential for developing genuine peer-group counselling as a way of "empowering" young homeless people. Establishing one or two pilots in peer-group counselling would enable such a model to be tested in the UK to assess its suitability for young people in this country.

TABLE 1: PRINCIPAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE SERVICES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN EMPLOYMENT/JOB CHANGERS

GUIDANCE SERVICE	ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL	CLIENTS	MAIN SERVICES
Careers Service	Local Education Authorities, but joint-funded, and inspected by Employment Department (future arrangements to include partnerships between LEAs and TECs or LECs)	Mainly aged 14 to 19: anyone attending and leaving school and college irrespective of age. Young people on YT and Training Credit schemes. Increasing involvement in adult career-changers and late entrants to learning. Sometimes includes specialist careers services for non-statutory adult clients.	Interviews; group work; information services; placement; liaison with employers and parents
Careers Education and Guidance in Further Education Colleges	Further Education Funding Council/SOED Note (i)	Over 16: students attending colleges (traditionally 16-19 but increasingly over 19)	Curricular programmes; interviews; information services; liaison with external guidance network
Careers Advisory Services in Higher Education (Universities and Colleges of Higher Education)	Individual institutions (LEA) provides careers service in some colleges)	Mainly aged 18-21 although increasing proportion of mature students; students attending universities and colleges of higher education	Interviews; group work; information services; placement; liaison with employers
Educational Guidance Services for Adults	Local Education Authorities, with various partners	Mainly over 19	Interviews; group work; information services; client advocacy; liaison with or co-ordination of local guidance network and with providers of learning opportunities
Training and Enterprise Councils: Local Enterprise Companies in Scotland	Local TEC/LEC Boards (core funding through Employment Department)	YT and Training Credits: 16-19 Programmes for adults; over 19, employed and unemployed; Employers Skill Choice	Varies: can involve interviews; group work; information services; liaison with or co-ordination of local guidance network, employers, providers of learning opportunities
Private Guidance Agencies	Private	All ages; some specialise in guidance for 14-18; others in mid-life career changers or redundant staff. Out-placement agencies work for companies rather than individuals.	Varies: can involve interviews; group work
Learning and Training Shops	TEC/LEC funding - some with joint funding eg from Local Authorities	Post 16s - employed and unemployed	Information, Individualised Guidance; Access to computerised guidance facilities

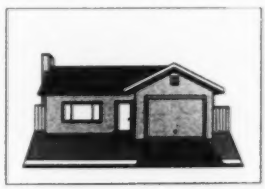
Note (i): Although funding comes through local or national bodies, all management decisions are taken by the institution's board of governors, giving rise to a considerable variation in provision throughout the country.

TABLE 2: OVERVIEW OF TRAINING AND QUALIFICATION OF COUNSELLORS IN SERVICES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN EMPLOYMENT

	EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS FOR ENTRY	INITIAL TRAINING	IN-SERVICE TRAINING
CAREERS SERVICE			
Careers Officer (including various specialist posts) Careers Officer/Guidance Worker for Adult Clients	Degree or equivalent. Some appointments of mature applicants with lower-level vocational qualifications and relevant experience	Diploma in Careers Guidance 1 year FT, 2 years PT, for Part 1; 1 year PT for Part 2	* For all careers service staff; short courses up to one week. Provided in-house, by regional training committee, DE, professional association or other national bodies
Employment Officer/Assistant	'O' Level/GCSE up to degree Average 'A' Level/BTEC	*Local Government Clerical Examinations eg BTEC National/Higher National with public sector options PT	
Information Officer	Nothing specified. May be qualified Careers Officer with Degree/Diploma in Careers Guidance; Chartered Librarian or senior Local Government Clerical Worker with BTEC/ Higher BTEC	*This would relate to the background of the individual practitioner, but none is required.	
Information Assistant	'O' Levels/GCSE/'A' Levels		
FURTHER EDUCATION			
Careers Co-ordinator Student/Learner Services staff Adult Guidance Specialist Lecturer on Courses involving Guidance	Degree or equivalent; occasional appointment of mature applicant with lower level qualifications and relevant experience	*CGLI 730, PGCE or equivalent; short courses on guidance organised internally or externally available	*Short courses organised internally, by local guidance network, by LEA, by RAC, by professional association or other national bodies. Specialist higher degrees and those which include guidance modules
ADULT EDUCATION			
Co-ordinator/tutor (of general subjects) Tutors on guidance courses	Co-ordinating and guidance course tutors: degree or equivalent; general subject course tutors only need qualifications or experience in that subject area	*ACSET stages 1, 2 or 3; or CGLI 730 or equivalent. Short courses on guidance available	*As further education
EDUCATIONAL GUIDANCE SERVICES FOR ADULTS			
Guidance Worker	Most have degree or equivalent, and many have other professional qualifications	*Induction training organised internally or locally; one-year part-time courses accredited by RSA now available	*As further education
EMPLOYMENT SERVICE			
Jobcentre Placement Officer Disablement Resettlement Officer JobClub Leader Claimant Adviser	Civil Service entry qualifications	Training for all civil service posts arranged internally	*Short courses arranged internally. Able to attend courses listed for further education, at discretion of local manager

TABLE 3: EUROPEAN HOMELESS, 1993

Member State	Number of homeless	Homeless per 1,000
Germany	1,030,000	12.8
UK	**688,000**	12.2
France	637,000	11.1
Belgium	26,000	2.6
Netherlands	30,000	2.0
Italy	90,000	1.6
Ireland	5,000	1.4
Luxembourg	500	1.3
Spain	30,000	0.8
Denmark	2,800	0.5
Portugal	2,500	0.2



Source: Feantsa. Figures not available for Greece

TABLE 4: PRINCIPAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE SERVICES FOR YOUNG UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE WHO ARE HOMELESS

GUIDANCE SERVICE	ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL	CLIENTS	MAIN SERVICES
Careers Service	Local Education Authorities, but joint-funded, and inspected by Employment Department (future arrangements to include partnerships between LEAs and TECs or LECs)	Mainly aged 14 to 19: anyone attending and leaving school and college irrespective of age. Young people on YT and Training Credit schemes. Increasing involvement in adult career-changers and late entrants to learning. Sometimes includes specialist careers services for non-statutory adult clients.	Interviews; group work; information services; placement; liaison with employers and parents
Careers Education and Guidance in Further Education Colleges	Further Education Funding Council/SOED Note (i)	Over 16: students attending colleges (traditionally 16-19 but increasingly over 19)	Curricular programmes; interviews; information services; liaison with external guidance network
Careers Advisory Services in Higher Education (Universities and Colleges of Higher Education)	Individual institutions (LEA) provides careers service in some colleges)	Mainly aged 18-21 although increasing proportion of mature students; students attending universities and colleges of higher education	Interviews; group work; information services; placement; liaison with employers
Educational Guidance Services for Adults	Local Education Authorities, with various partners	Mainly over 19	Interviews; group work; information services; client advocacy; liaison with or co-ordination of local guidance network and with providers of learning opportunities
Employment Service	Employment Department	Over 16; Restart, JobPlan workshops and JobClubs for unemployed	Interviews; group work; placement
Training and Enterprise Councils: Local Enterprise Companies in Scotland	Local TEC/LEC Boards (core funding through Employment Department)	YT and Training Credits: 16-19 Programmes for adults; over 19, employed and unemployed	Varies: can involve interviews; group work; information services; liaison with or co-ordination of local guidance network, employers, providers of learning opportunities
Community Education/Adult Education Worker	Local Authority funding and/or Urban Programme ESF	Post 16: Unemployed adults	Individual and group guidance on education, training and employment through projects targetted on young people
Project Workers/ Employment Advisers	Voluntary Sector but funded from various sources, eg central/ local government TECs/LECs	Post 16: young homeless/young people at risk	Group work; individual interviews, advice, information

Note (i): Although funding comes through local or national bodies, all management decisions are taken by the institution's board of governors, giving rise to a considerable variation in provision throughout the country.

APPENDIX: ABBREVIATIONS

CEC	Commission of the European Communities
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
EC	European Community (now European Union)
GATE	Guaranteed Accommodation and Training for Employment
LFS	Labour Force Survey
LEAP	Linked Employment and Accommodation Project
LEC	Local Enterprise Company
LEA	Local Education Authority
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
NVQs	National Vocational Qualifications
NCDS	National Child Development Study
NICEC	National Institute for Careers Education and Counselling
SVQs	Scottish Vocational Qualifications
SYPS	Scottish Young People's Survey
SIACE	Scottish Institute of Adult and Continuing Education
TEC	Training and Enterprise Council
TAP	Training Access Point
UDACE	Unit for the Development of Adult Continuing Education
UN	United Nations
YT	Youth Training
YCS	Youth Cohort Study (England and Wales)

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Target groups analysed in the twelve Member States

B	1)	Young people in Charleroi and Wallonian Brabant
	2)	Young people in Brussels
DK	1)	Locked-in, unemployed young people
	2)	Young people dropping out or changing course in the education system
D		Girls and young women when choosing an occupation
GR	1)	Young people who leave school without completing compulsory education
	2)	Young women with no skills training
E	1)	Young women in the autonomous community of Madrid whose chief activity is domestic work in their own homes
	2)	Young people of both sexes affected by industrial reconversion on the left bank of the Bilbao estuary
F	1)	Young people in initial training
	2)	Young job seekers
IRL		Rural disadvantaged youth Case study 1: North Mayo Case study 2: North-West Connemara
I		Low skilled young people
L	1)	Young people in the 9th class of upper secondary technical education
	2)	Young people with supplementary education in the last year of compulsory schooling
NL		Young drifters
P	1)	Young people in their 9th school year
	2)	Young people who have completed their 9th school year and are attending vocational training schools
	3)	Young people with or without school leaving certificate attending alternative training courses
UK	1)	Young people in full-time employment
	2)	Homeless young people

CEDEFOP - European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

Determining the need for vocational counselling among different target groups of young people under 28 years of age in the European Community Young people in full-time employment and homeless young people in the United Kingdom

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Following a brief overview of the career guidance systems in their countries, the authors of the reports describe a number of target groups of young people under 28 years of age, their economic, social and cultural backgrounds and the problems posed by the transition from school to working life.

A total of 21 target groups from the whole spectrum are examined, ranging from young people with favourable conditions for transition to the most disadvantaged.

A comparison is made between the need for career guidance, the demand coming from these groups and the current offer. The conclusions drawn in the summary report (deficit analyses) provide indications for designing future action programmes at EU level.

Particular attention is paid to mobility and the readiness of young people in this age group (PETRA II) throughout the EU Member States.

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National report